175 567 839 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and 175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa 175 721 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 [175] [636] The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist